Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3327
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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E.O.11652:XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: CONSULTATIONS WITH THE UK
ON CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS

CTB MESSAGE NO. 307

1. SUMMARY: MEMBERS OF THE US AND UK DELS MET ON AUGUST 16 AND 17 FOR DISCUSSIONS OF THE CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS ISSUE. UK REPRESENTATIVES REPORTED ON THE RECENT CABINET-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS OF THIS MATTER IN LONDON, AND OFFERED COMMENTS ON THE US POSITION. THE UK HAS NO PREFERRED APPROACH. THEY ARE CONSIDERING THREE POSSIBILITIES:

(A) THE US APPROACH; (B) MAKING NO SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS, AND (C) PROVISION FOR REQUESTING A PRESENCE DURING EXPLOSIONS ABOVE SOME AGREED LEVEL, SUCH AS 2 KILOTONS, AND NO PROVISION FOR PRENOTIFICATION OF SMALLER EXPLOSIONS. EDMONDS (UK) ASKED THAT WE DEFER OUR PLANNED PLENARY STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT TO PERMIT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON DURING THE BREAK. SECRET

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IN THE COURSE OF THE AUGUST 17 MEETING, JOHNSON (US) AGREED TO SUCH A DEFERRAL. END SUMMARY.

2. US REPS (JOHNSON, NEIDLE, GIVAN, AND SCHRAGE) MET WITH UK REPS (EDMONDS, WETHERELL, AND BRINKLEY) ON AUGUST 16 TO DISCUSS THE US PROPOSAL ON CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS, WHICH JOHNSON SAID WE HOPED TO TABLE AT THE

FINAL PLENARY BEFORE THE BREAK. EDMONDS SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE UK DELEGATION HAD NOT YET RECEIVED INSTRUC-TIONS, HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THOSE INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH WERE EXPECTED SHORTLY, WOULD BE TO ASK FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF OUR PROPOSAL. EDMONDS DESCRIBED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE UK. JOHNSON REITERATED OUR DESIRE TO TABLE OUR PROPOSAL ON CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS DURING THE PLENARY SESSION IMMEDIATELY PRECED-ING THE BREAK. HE BELIEVED THAT OUR PROPOSAL WAS A REASONABLE ONE WHICH COULD BE NEGOTIATED SATISFACTORILY WITH THE SOVIET DEL. THE US. IN PREPARING THIS PROPOSAL. HAD CONSIDERED MANY VARIANTS, INCLUDING A TWO-TIER PROCEDURE. HE HAD STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE US POSITION REFLECTED IN OUR PROPOSAL AND HAD ARGUED FOR IT. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT TINKERING WITH IT WOULD PRODUCE A BETTER PROPOSAL. HE VERY MUCH HOPED THAT THE UK WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO THE US DEL'S TABLING THE PROPOSAL AT THE PLENARY ON AUGUST 18.

3. WITH REGARD TO UK OPTIONS, NEIDLE SAID THAT PRENOTIFICATION PROCEDURE COULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO THE
VERIFICATION PROCESS. AS FOR ATTEMPTING TO INCLUDE IN THE
PROPOSAL A REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF REQUESTING
OBSERVATION, THIS WOULD PRODUCE NO SUBSTANTIAL DIVIDEND
SINCE IT WOULD BE OPEN TO US TO RAISE SUCH A POSSIBILITY
IN ANY CASE THROUGH THE JCC. HE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE
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VERY USEFUL TO BE ABLE TO TABLE OUR PROPOSAL BEFORE THE BREAK SO THAT THE SOVIETS COULD TAKE THAT OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IT. EDMONDS SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT US DEL'S VIEWS BACK TO LONDON. HOWEVER, HE VERY MUCH DOUBTED THAT UK ACQUIESCENCE COULD BE OBTAINED BY THAT DATE. THERE WERE MORE CRITICAL ISSUES ON WHICH DECISIONS MUST BE TAKEN -- DURATION AND RELATED ISSUES -- AND HE DOUBTED WHETHER HE COULD CONVINCE LONDON OF THE NEED TO TAKE RAPID ACTION ON THIS "MUCH LESS IMPORTANT" ISSUE.

4. US REPS (JOHNSON, FINCH, AND PHILLIPS) MET WITH UK REPS (FAKLEY, WEEKS, AND DUNMORE) ON AUGUST 17 FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE. FAKLEY, WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE DELIBERATIONS IN LONDON, OFFERED A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE UK'S THINKING ON THE MATTER. HE OBSERVED THAT THE UK SHARED OUR GENERAL ASSESSMENT THAT, IF THE SOVIETS WISHED TO EVADE A TEST BAN, THEY WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO DO SO BY MEANS OTHER THAN UNDER THE COVER OF CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS. NEVERTHELESS, SOME OFFICIALS IN LONDON CONSIDERED THAT THE US PROPOSAL HAD CERTAIN DISADVANTAGES WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH US IN WASHINGTON. THEY WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DISCUSS THE POSSI-

BILITY OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES BEFORE MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO THEIR MINISTERS.

5. FAKLEY DESCRIBED THE THREE OPTIONS WHICH WERE BEING CONSIDERED IN LONDON, AND EACH OPTION WAS DISCUSSED BRIEFLY: - OPTION A: THE US PROPOSAL. THE US PROPOSAL WOULD NOT PROVIDE COMPLETE PROTECTION AGAINST CONCEALMENT OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN ALLEGED OR ACTUAL LARGE CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS. SOME SCENARIOS WERE DISCUSSED. AND JOHNSON

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INDICATED THAT WE HAD TAKEN SUCH CASES FULLY INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. FAKLEY THEN OBSERVED THAT THE MAIN DISADVANTAGE TO THE US PLAN WAS THAT PRE-NOTIFICATION COULD REDUCE THE PROSPECTS OF OBTAINING AN ON-SITE INSPECTION (OSI) FOLLOWING A SUSPICIOUS CHEMICAL EXPLOSION. THIS WAS BECAUSE THE SOVIETS COULD REJECT A REQUEST FOR AN OSI OF A PRE-NOTIFIED CHEMICAL EXPLOSION, ARGUING THAT THEY HAD FULLY DESCRIBED THE EXPLOSION IN ADVANCE. FINCH SAID THAT, IN HIS VIEW, THE SITUATION WOULD BE WORSE WITHOUT PRE-NOTIFICATION. THE SOVIETS COULD PROVIDE THE SAME INFORMATION AFTER THE FACT AND USE THE SAME ARGUMENT IN REJECTING AN OSI REQUEST, BUT WE WOULD HAVE LOST THE BENEFITS OF PRE-NOTIFICATION.

- OPTION B: NO SPECIAL VERIFICATION MEASURES IN RELATION TO CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS. THIS OPTION WOULD AVOID THE DISADVANTAGE, AS NOTED ABOVE, WHICH SOME IN THE UK SAW IN

THE US APPROACH. SIGNALS FROM "CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS" WOULD BE TREATED IDENTICALLY WITH ALL OTHER "AMBIGUOUS EVENTS." THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO MAKE THE "DIFFICULT SECRET

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JUDGMENT" ON WHAT THE PRE-NOTIFICATION LEVEL SHOULD BE.
THE CHANCES OF OBTAINING AGREEMENT TO AN OSI WOULD BE
BETTER IN THIS CASE, SINCE GROUNDS FOR CHALLENGING THE
SOVIETS THROUGH THE COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE WOULD BE BETTER
THAN IF A CHEMICAL EXPLOSION HAD BEEN PRENOTIFIED.

- OPTION C: PROVISION FOR OBSERVATION OF VERY LARGE CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS (E.G. 2 KT OR MORE). THERE WOULD BE NO PRE-NOTIFICATION OF EXPLOSIONS BELOW THE AGREED LEVEL, BUT FOR THOSE ABOVE THIS LEVEL WE WOULD SEEK AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE "HOST COUNTRY" WOULD INVITE THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE SEPARATE AGREEMENT TO DBSERVE THEIR LARGEST CHEMICAL SHOTS. THIS IDEA COULD BE PRESENTED AS A NATURAL CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE AND JUSTIFIABLE ON THE GROUNDS THAT KILOTON CHEMICAL EXPLOSIONS COULD GIVE RISE TO MAJOR CONCERNS ABOUT TREATY COMPLIANCE.
- 6. JOHNSON REITERATED THAT THE FACTORS CITED HAD BEEN GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON IN THE COURSE OF ARRIVING AT OUR POSITION, AND HE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT OUR APPROACH WAS A REASONABLE ONE. THERE WAS NO PERFECT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM BUT HE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE US APPROACH AND HOPED THE UK WOULD AGREE THAT IT WAS REASONABLE. FAKLEY SAID THE UK EXPERTS WOULD LIKE TO CONSULT WITH US EXPERTS DURING THE BREAK, AND URGED THAT THE US DEL WAIT UNTIL AFTER SUCH DISCUSSIONS TO MAKE ITS PROPOSAL TO THE SOVIETS. JOHNSON SAID THAT, IN VIEW OF THE STRONG UK INTEREST, HE WOULD RELUCTANTLY AGREE TO DEFER THE PLANNED AUGUST 18 PLENARY STATEMENT LAYING OUT THE US POSITION. JOHNSON

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